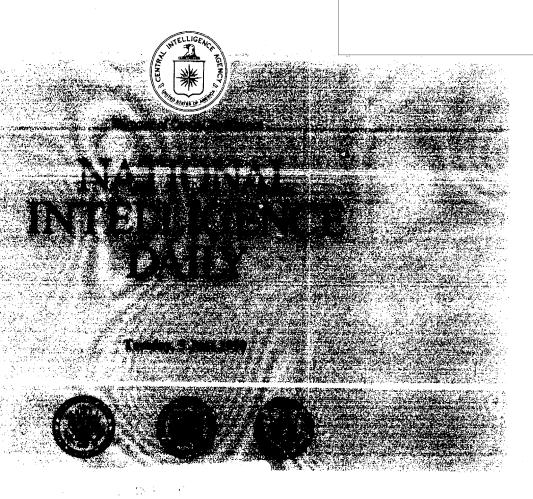
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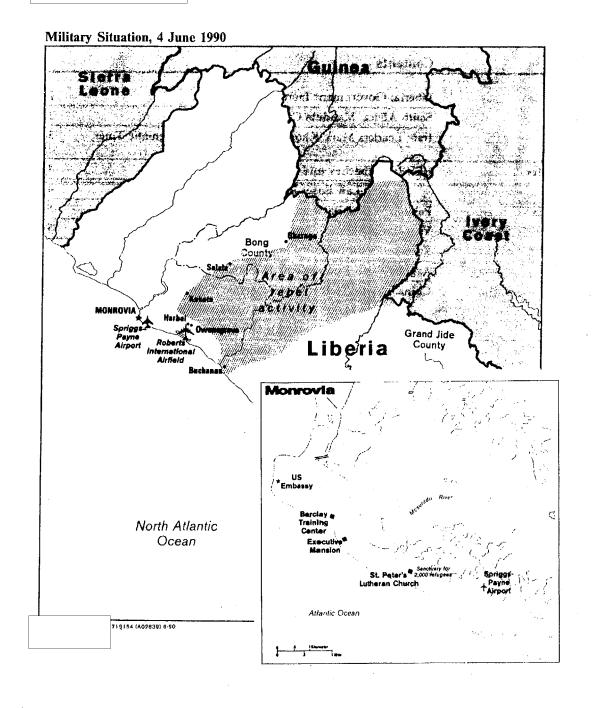
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Top Secret

5 June 1990



Top Secret

LIBERIA:

The army's incompetence and President Doe's unwillingness to step down in favor of an interim government are leaving the regime vulnerable to the next rebel push. Liberian army ineptitude has caused confusion about the status of		100 Secret
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5 June 1990

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SOUTH AFRICA:

Mandela Casting a Wide Net

Nelson Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, continues to reach out to other antiapartheid groups, to black municipal and homeland officials, and to the European Community in an effort to unite the black opposition and to mobilize further international support.

Mandela is initiating talks with an array of antiapartheid rivals:

- He met last weekend with a senior leader of a top black exclusivist group to discuss clashes between their organizations that resulted in four deaths last week.
- He met with a leading township official to explore providing land for returning ANC exiles.
- The ANC confirmed that it will talk soon with its oldest rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress.
- ANC officials have also made overtures to a recently resigned senior official of Inkatha, the large Zulu-based political movement.

Mandela heads for Europe tomorrow to visit France, the UK, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, and Switzerland. Moscow was not on the itinerary announced this week, but Mandela apparently plans to visit the USSR before coming to the US later this month.

Comment: ANC leaders are struggling to put an end to the continuing violence Mandela admits is partially being caused by undisciplined ANC supporters. Meeting with municipal leaders might help reduce the longstanding bitterness antiapartheid groups have felt toward black municipal authorities, who have been condemned and sometimes assassinated for working within the apartheid system.

Mandela will use his European tour to try to shore up EC support for sanctions—flagging since the largely favorable reception President de Klerk enjoyed last month—but he may have more success appealing for funds to aid the ANC's organizational efforts in South Africa. The ANC has not announced an end to the armed struggle, and Mandela probably will ask the USSR—as he probably asked Libya, Algeria, and Nigeria last month—for more military aid as a fallback should negotiations falter.

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IRAN:

Leaders Mark Khomeini's Death With Pragmatic Tone

Speeches and articles by senior Iranian officials commemorating yesterday's anniversary of Ayatollah Khomeini's death suggest that pragmatic economic goals are being given priority over radical political agendas.

Khomeini's son Ahmad on Saturday called for the country to unite behind Supreme Leader Khamenei and to support the Rafsanjani government's policies in order to "implement the Imam's line." In a speech yesterday, Khamenei emphasized that successful economic reconstruction is the best way to disarm the US—still labeled Iran's primary enemy. President Rafsanjani hailed Khomeini's pragmatic decision to end the war with Iraq and lauded the Ayatollah's foresight in providing for leadership after his death.

Ali Akbar Mohtashemi-Pur, a prominent radical in the Consultative Assembly, sounded a harsher note. An Iranian daily quoted him as arguing that Iran should not focus on its economy at the expense of "forgetting... the deprived people of the world" and as calling for attacks against US interests worldwide.

Comment: Mohtashemi's remarks notwithstanding, the overall tone of the commentary was much less inflammatory than usual. Ahmad Khomeini's words have symbolic weight because he is a primary interpreter of his father's legacy. His remarks are the clearest indication to date that he is moving away from a hard line and closer to the positions of Khamenei and Rafsanjani. The "Imam's line" is a code for those competing to inherit Khomeini's ideological mantle; Ahmad's words are meant to suggest that Khomeini would have approved of the economic reconstruction program.

The commentary is an important endorsement for Khamenei and for Rafsanjani's efforts to focus government policy on rebuilding Iran's devastated economy; Iran will need Western financing to succeed. Khamenei's speech suggests that, although most senior Iranian leaders remain committed to promoting militant Islam, they consider domestic reconstruction their highest priority.

Mohtashemi's remarks are a reminder that the hardliners will not be silenced. At present, however, their concerns are acknowledged, but they are not considered part of the mainstream. The radicals probably will try to undermine pragmatic policies by complaining that economic programs do not help the poor and perhaps by organizing street rallies around controversial policies or against pro-Rafsaniani officials.

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USSR: Gorbachev and Yel'tsin Moving Closer

With growing incentives to work together, President Gorbachev and Russian Republic Chairman Yel'tsin have adopted conciliatory tacks. Gorbachev's statement on Sunday crediting Yel'tsin for moving back toward the center is his most positive since they split in 1987, and Yel'tsin continues to press for an early meeting with Gorbachev. The divided Russian Republic legislature yesterday again failed to accept a new set of candidates for republic deputy chairmanships. This group was proposed by Yel'tsin; previous groups had been proposed by committee.

Comment: Any modus vivendi between the two men is likely to be shaky. Gorbachev probably hopes the legislature's continued fractiousness will force Yel'tsin to moderate his positions further. If he refuses to meet Yel'tsin soon after he returns from the US, however, their personal conflict probably would boil over again, and Gorbachev's public standing might suffer a further setback.

USSR: New Law Eases Reins on Enterprises

The new law on enterprises, approved yesterday by the Supreme Soviet, is meant to increase competition and reinforce the notion—still novel in the USSR—that profit, rather than ministerial command, should guide economic decision making. The law increases the autonomy of state enterprises by removing some restrictions on how they can set prices and use their profits and by allowing them to establish independent associations not subject to ministerial control. It also purports to give enterprises run by organizations of leaseholders, cooperatives, and shareholders equal status with state-run enterprises.

Comment: Despite this expansion of rights, key controls over enterprise behavior remain in Moscow's hands. Centrally mandated output targets, although set to be reduced, will remain in force for at least another year, and firms operating under state orders will still have first priority in the allocation of scarce resources. A separate law now under legislative review would restore a strong state role in the selection of directors of state enterprises, rescinding a 1987 provision that called for their election by the workers.

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YUGOSLAVIA: Slovenia Initiates Drive	or Autonomy
The new government in the Republic of S	Slovenia is moving quickly
to challenge Belgrade on two key matters:	
conscripts to serve only in their home rep further unilateral reductions in tax payme	
government. Slovenia's new Prime Minist	
said the federation's system of funding ec	onomic development of the
poorer regions is outdated and could bank press reports.	crupt Slovenia, according to
press reports.	
Comment: The military force is one of the	few remaining Pan-
Yugoslav institutions, and military leader proposal as an attempt to eviscerate it. The	
payments to the federation is also a serior	
authority. The federal Presidency and cab	inet nevertheless may have
to accept Slovene demands rather than ris	k splitting the armed forces.

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CHINA: Trying To Improve Economic Reform Image

Chinese press reports are showcasing new economic measures, evidently trying to demonstrate renewed reform momentum. Beijing reportedly gave the go-ahead over the weekend to open the country's first futures market—for wheat—and announced plans to establish others for rice, corn, and pork. China will open its first full-fledged stock market in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone later this year. Chinese officials told an international symposium last week China will soon develop experimental securities exchanges to trade government bonds in Shanghai and Shenzhen and expand securities trading elsewhere.

media offensive to soften Beijing's hardline image and convince the world that China is stable. Beijing hopes to induce full-scale lending by the World Bank and to restore other aid. Hardline leaders also apparently want to improve their personal images

Premier Li Peng is trying to portray himself as the champion of economic reform; he publicly endorsed the creation of a new foreign investment zone in Shanghai. The new measures, under discussion for several years, will have little economic impact without key market reforms, such as enterprise bankruptcy and price

decontrols; these have been stalled since late 1988.

Comment: The recent announcements probably are the start of a

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TAIWAN: Budget Planners Yield	to Public's Demands
For the fiscal year beginning in It	uly, Taiwan's legislature last week
	spending that will boost domestic
demand and stimulate the econor	my.
	tput fell at about a 1-percent annual
	p in four months. The budget will
sharply increase spending on infr	
	ial welfare. The defense share will solute amount spent on the military
will increase 18 percent over FY	
component of the budget. The pla	
4 percent of GNP, will be the big	

Comment: In addition to giving the economy a boost, the government evidently hopes spending will satisfy demands for improvements in housing, roads, and pollution and crime control by a populace that is playing an increasingly important role in the political process. The growth in the defense budget probably is needed for ongoing weapons programs, such as the Indigenous Defense Fighter, Perry-class frigates, and advanced tactical missiles. The deficit reportedly will be financed partly from the sale of public bonds, which should help prevent the deficit from fueling inflation—about 5 percent last year,

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the highest level since 1981.

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TAIWAN: Reacting to Trade Deficit With Japan

The second sentence in the Note in the 4 June Daily should read: "Taiwan ran a \$7 billion trade deficit with Japan last year; the deficit grew at a 22-percent annual rate through April to reach \$2.5 billion so far this year, almost offsetting Taiwan's trade surplus with the US for the first time."

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In Brief

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SSR — Ukrainian party chief Ivashko elected chairman of reput Supreme Soviet yesterday 110 Rukh-backed deputies out, protesting his holding top party, government posts . legislature will force him to compromise with nationalist				
	— Soviet party cadres secretary Georgiy Razumovskiy yesterday failed in first election bid for July party congress two other senior officials won only by running in rural districts shows grassroots dissatisfied with national party leadership.			

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Europe	
	 Reelection of former Polish Communist party Politburo member Alfred Miodowicz to lead Communist union presages more attacks
	Alfred Miodowicz to lead Communist union presages more attacks on Warsaw's economic policies likely to frustrate union's efforts to gain legitimacy soon.

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